11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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SPIRITS OF THE UNDERWORLD

776 The *kokeriwat* are a class of spirits that are believed to inhabit the underworld. Although they are extremely mischievous, the *kokeriwat* are not specifically malevolent toward humans nor are they especially feared by the Mundurucú. During the old Mundurucú wars, *kokeriwat* warriors used to issue from the underworld and, unseen by all but the shamans, fought side by side with the Mundurucú as allies. One informant stated that the *kokeriwat* were really the souls of Mundurucú warriors of ancient times, but this is not a universally held belief and must be classed with our previously discussed minor variations on major themes. Despite the help given them by their invisible allies, the Mundurucú warriors had to take certain precautions against the *kokeriwat*, for the latter always attempted to steal the teeth from the trophy heads taken by the war party. The Mundurucú guarded against this by extracting the teeth, which were later strung on a cotton belt, and hiding them in the mouth of the head. When all the teeth were extracted, they were placed in a small box which the warriors suspended from their necks.

[842] The *kokeriwat* were also able to make women pregnant without their knowledge by assuming the form of a small bird and flying between their legs. They later returned to claim the issue. Several cases were reported in which the *kokeriwat* robbed the mothers of these surreptitiously begotten children. One child of the village of Parawarétikã was sent by her mother to fetch water. After a considerable period of time passed by, the mother asked some women who were bound for the stream to tell the daughter to return immediately. The women went to the stream and found two sets of tracks leading away from the beach. They called the men of the village, who followed the tracks to a hill within which was situated one of the underworld homes of the *kokeriwat*. A shaman called out to the girl and asked her to return, but the *kokeriwat* replied in a voice heard only by the shaman, "She cannot return. I am keeping her for she is my daughter." The shaman was afraid to make any further attempt to regain the child, and she was left with the *kokeriwat*.

776 Informants were able to name three separate underworlds of the *kokeriwat*. The
● 772 one to which that child was taken was known as Paraduá. Another was called Wikotchongpö and was on the banks of the Iririri River, a tributary of the Cururú River. The third home of the *kokeriwat* was Kokeriwatka (literally, the place of the *kokeriwat*), which was near the Morro de Careca on the Cururú River. All these places were abandoned by the *kokeriwat* after they became increasingly subjected to attacks by the Turuparí. They now live in an underworld to the east and no longer have relations with the Mundurucú.

776 The Mundurucú know of the lands of the *kokeriwat* because many shamans are
756 said to have traveled there. Some shamans, as Pölübaboi, a former chief of Capikpí, even had wives there. The *kokeriwat* have human forms when in their own land, but everything else is the reverse of the terrestrial world. Pölübaboi, for example, related that the first time he had intercourse with his *kokeriwat* wife he told her to lie on her back on the ground in the usual Mundurucú position. But the *kokeri-*